regions as were not strongly influenced by the Japanese are valuable materials provided they are used with care. I have, therefore, sought my materials, as much as possible, from these sources and have used archaeological investigation only as complementary materials.

It is still an open question whether the people called the Ezo in ancient times are the present-day Ainu. Recent excavations indicate that at least in northeastern Hokkaidō there lived a tribe whose culture and constitution differed from those of the present Ainu and whose descendants had existed until relatively recent times. While it cannot be said with certainty that the present-day Ainu are the Ezo recorded by history it seems that the majority of the Ezo, especially those who came into contact with the Japanese and of whom we have records, were Ainu. Therefore, taking what we know of the present Ainu together with what records do exist on the life of the Ezo, we will have, without serious error, raw material on the life of the Ezo of the past.

1. ECONOMIC LIFE

There is little doubt that the Ainu were living in Friedrich List's or Richard Eely's "hunting and fishing stage." By the time records of them began to appear they were already engaged in crude agriculture with millet, barnyard grass, and turnips as the main products. This was in the southwestern part of the island where climatic conditions were favorable and where they came in frequent contact with the Japanese. In other parts of the island dogs, which are advanced domestic animals, were used and the people had progressed from the stage where they relied on natural food to growing food themselves. However this use of agriculture was primarily due to the influence of neighboring peoples and food was still chiefly obtained from natural sources, the products of agriculture and dog-breeding being only supplements, so that they were still a hunting and fishing people. Their food, which was very simply prepared, consisted mainly of flesh obtained by hunting and fishing and a few vegetables to add to their diet.[1]

For clothing they had, since ancient times, made textiles from vegetable fibers called *Attushi* [elm bark cloth] or *Reteruppe* [hemp cloth]. Judging from the methods used and the tools discovered, their textile techniques were imported from Japan either directly or indirectly[2] and previous to this importation clothes of *Uri* [animal skin], *Rapuri* [feathers] and *Akumi* [fish skins] which were respectively, the skins of animals, birds, and fish, had been sewn together with tendons and grass fibers,[3] and *Kera* [straw coats] had been used. Those areas

[1] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Ainu no seikatsu to minzoku (Ainu life and customs) in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 131 ff. Tsuru Hideo, Ainu no inshokubutsu ni tsuite (On Ainu food and drink), *Tōkyō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*TJZ*) 16: 398 ff.

[2] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 17.

[3] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Ainu jisei no ifuku (Handmade clothes of the Ainu), *Hokkaidō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*HJZ*) No. 1: 5 ff.

as a ceremonial garment, it gradually came to take the place of all skin cloths. In the same way the importation of iron did away with bone and stone tools and Japanese manufacured goods replaced earthenware to the point where the method of making this ware was forgotten. Fishing gear made a particularly rapid improvement. The primitive fish net was replaced by the improved Japanese net and the materials from which these nets were made changed from bark to hemp thread while iron points were used on the fish spears. It is believed that iron imports had a great influence on harpoons which were called *Hanare* and on hooks fastened to wooden poles called *Mareppu*. As the imports of small knives, large knives (choppers—machetes), sickles, etc., grew the economy became more and more varied. Significant was the development of agriculture and the increased use of dogs. Agriculture had, previously, been carried on in a haphazard way. Only small areas were planted which yielded little and this little was considered a luxurious supplement to the hunting and fishing catch. But this changed and by the early part of the eighteenth century the area under cultivation extended from Shakotan peninsula in the west to Shiraoi in the east and agricultural products were becoming important especially in tiding the tribes over the winter.[18]

In the northwest, where agriculture was undeveloped, dogs played an important economic role. These dogs were not only used in hunting but also furnished meat and skin clothing during the winters. These people were skilled dog breeders and the Karafuto Ainu, influenced by the continental peoples, used dogs for hauling and transportation.[19] Here we have a people still in a hunting and fishing economy but developing techniques that were to prepare them for either an agricultural or a stock-raising economy. In addition to their regular livelihood, trading added to their wealth. At first they traded only the surplus of their necessities. small in quantity and limited in variety. After the infiltration of techniques from Japan the variety and quantity of their goods increased and their labor, which hitherto they had used only for the production of the necessities of life, they turned to making goods for trade. With these goods as a medium of exchange they began to accumulate wealth. They especially prized brocade, gems, and other decorations from Santan and swords. lacquer and ornaments from Japan. and the measure of wealth became the accumulation of these objects which were not only symbols of wealth but the prime medium for the purchase of fishing grounds[20] and which under the name *Ashinpe* could be made payment for crimes ——— in lieu of The death penalty

[18] Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu no nōgyō (Ainu agriculture). *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

[19] Mamiya Rinsō, *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* (A description of the island of Northern Ezo).

[20] Kyūdojin no densetsu oyobi jijitsu dan (Aboriginal legend and fact), *Shokumin Kōhō*, No. 42.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

shelled them and presented them to me nicely baked. And they were very good eating in that land of scarcity. On asking her why she crashed them, she told me it was to prevent them from bursting.

The food question being a somewhat important one, I had a talk with the chief and asked him if we could not manage to put up a small chicken house and keep a few hens. He readily agreed to the proposal, so in a couple of days or so we had a lodge built of sticks and reeds all ready. We then went down to a Japanese village at the seashore and bought two birds, which we put into the little place. All went well for the first five days and I had an egg daily. But after that, although the hen cackled every day as usual, we could find no egg, and I was greatly disappointed. This went on for several days and I made up my mind to sit in the shed and so try to solve the problem. As I sat watching, behold, on the very first morning what should happen but, as soon as ever the hen began her song, a big grey snake, some five feet long, thrust his head in from the outside right over the nest. I shouted and this made him withdraw his vicious snout sharply. I got the egg that time. The next morning I waited very quietly outside at the back and when the creature wormed his way up among the reeds and popped his head in, I gave him a whack on his back and killed him. I won also that time and got my egg. After that we had no more trouble. That year I killed no less than thirty-six snakes and vipers. On entering the hut, Penri volunteered the following information. "After a snake has swallowed an egg, he, the demon, glides off to a tree stump, winds himself round it, gives a tight squeeze and smashes it. They are very cunning demons."

Some little time after slaying my egg thief, I was startled one morning by catching sight of another large snake gliding along the rafters and in and out of the reed thatch inside the hut. Undoubtedly he

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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A WOMAN REARING THE FAMILY BEAR CUB

A BEAR CUB'S CAGE

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

roof to dry. But these holes are very useful in other ways. When fights take place inside between demons and men or between gods and demons, the spirits of the slain ascend alive through them to heaven. And when the deceased ancestors of the people come to their children to accompany them to battle, they enter here and then all go off together to wage the war, and many fights take place in the air. There are many allusions to this in Ainu folklore. 342 [776]

The western part of any place is always regarded as the lowest in esteem. This region, being the place where the sun sets, is looked upon as the abode of darkness and evil. Many fetishes are set up to the demons of evil and sickness at this end of the huts, both inside and out. The door leading from this quarter goes into an ante-chamber. In the south wall of this there is another door which leads into the open air. In the ante-chamber are stored fire-wood, garden tools and so forth. The dogs also, and these are the only native domestic animals the Yezo Ainu kept, are allowed to occupy this place. That part of the house extending from the top of the east-end window is held in special honour. The right-hand corner is the place where all the treasures are kept, also a great number of family charms and fetishes. Upon the beams over these, heirlooms, old swords, bows and arrows, spears and fishing implements, properly decorated with shavings from willow wood, are stowed away. In long boxes next to these are preserved the special ornaments and clothing. Many old sword scabbards and other things may be seen decorating the wall here. [823] 342 778 [231]

Respecting the east-end window the following folklore was told me:

"The east-end window is a very blessed thing and of great importance always. When the highest gods are worshipped or when prayers are said to the ancestors, they should often be addressed through this window. Also, when fetishes are placed among the big

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXVI

THE BEAR FESTIVAL

I have already written on the subject of rearing bear cubs and shown how these poor little beasts are kept in cages, where they are well fed, often worshipped, and at last baited, killed and eaten at the bear festival. And I have also cited a short prayer said by some of the men at the time of the killing. 527 231

The ceremonies connected with the bear festival are interesting in some respects, but when I saw one performed for the first time, I must confess that I received a bad shock and took an immediate dislike to the whole thing. It was by no means an uplifting spectacle, and the very name of it still sends a cold thrill through my person. I do not like to see the men and women beastly intoxicated. It is not pleasant to look upon the wild eyes and flushed faces of the dancing and singing guests. At one part of the ceremony, the men not only drink the warm blood of the slain animal, but also besmear their beards with some of it. The sight is indescribable, for it gives them a debauched, unclean, fierce, and fiendish appearance. [262]

In describing this festival I think I cannot do better than give a translation of an account an Ainu wrote out for me in the year 1888, and comment thereon. He told me in the course of a conversation that before the festival takes places a verbal invitation is sent far and wide to the people, something after this fashion. [#4]

"I, So-and-So, am about to send away the dear little divine one whose home is among the mountains. My friends and masters, come ye to the feast and we

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

527 will unite in the great joy of sending him off. Come!"
● 231 As soon as this invitation is received, the women shave the foreheads and hinder parts of their husbands' and sons' necks, and then proceed to touch up one another's tattoo. That done, they get out their best embroidered garments and beads and other ornaments in readiness to wear, and then set to work and pound millet for the festive cakes and dumplings. The men are not idle, but employ themselves in making numerous fetishes out of wood, to offer to the various deities and demons or to use as mediators. And some, also, for the deceased ancestors. Nothing must be left out on this most important occasion.

[462]

When a bear is sacrificed, it is not said to be killed but to be "sent away," for the spirit is then let out of the body and goes off fully alive. The account given me by my friend runs as follows:

After a cub has been brought up in its cage and has now become big, and the preparations for sending it away have been completed, and the house has been well filled with guests, and the time for the baiting has arrived, all the people go out to the cub.

The cub is supposed to have grown big enough for the feast in a year; but two or even three is thought to be the best time for the ceremony, and the bigger the animal is, the more fun there is to be got out of him in baiting, and the more meat there will be to divide among the guests.

As for the men, they do worship and perform dancing before the divine one, while the women and children clap their hands, sing songs, and take part in the dancing.

This merry performance is carried on for quite a long time, and I suppose poor little Bruin thinks it all very funny. When those who came first have finished their dancing, the late comers have their turns, for all must join in.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

Then the men turn toward the place where the fetishes are set up and arrange themselves in proper order, and worship. 527 231

The men sit down before the creature and tell him that they are about to send him to his ancestors among the mountains. They ask him not to be angry with them, for it is a very great honour which they are now about to confer upon him. He is informed that if he is really a good and proper cub he will reincarnate as before and come back later to be treated again as he is being treated now. An address is then offered like this:

"O thou divine one, thou didst come into this world for us to hunt. O thou precious little one, we worship thee; pray hear our prayers. We have nourished thee and brought thee up with great pains and care, and all because we loved thee so much. Now, as thou hast grown big, we are about to send thee to thy parents. When thou comest to them, please speak well of us and tell them how kind we have been to thee. We beseech thee to return to us once more, that we may again entertain thee."

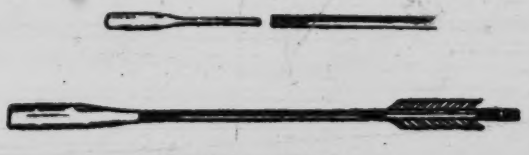
A rope is next tied about the cub and he is taken out of the cage and led to the place where the fetishes have been set up. Then when the multitude of people have seated themselves in their order, he is made to walk about in front of them for their pleasure.

After the prayer has been said, Bruin has one cord placed round his neck and shoulder on one side, and one round the opposite shoulder by another man in such a manner as to make it quite safe. The two men hold the noose so firmly as to ensure that he shall be able to make no attack on his friends who are teasing him and will soon kill and eat him. He is then led to and fro by the two men, one on each side. If the bear is a large one and very strong, a rope is also passed over his hind quarters by two other men. Thus the people take good care of their own skins.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

231
527 As soon as the cub is out of the cage, the people who have formed themselves up about him shout and clap their hands, while he is being led about. They also excite him by shooting at him with blunt arrows, which strike him and then fall to the ground. The wilder the animal becomes, the more delighted are the people. And they even go so far sometimes as to beat him with long sticks. When the struggling creature shows signs of exhaustion, he is tied up to a strong stake driven into the ground, nicely ornamented with fetishes and tufts of shavings. As soon as he is quite secure, more blunt arrows are fired at him, which make him rage furiously.

[411]



BLUNT ARROWS

Then comes the most exciting time. All at once some of the brave young fellows rush forward and seize the poor brute by the ears and fur of his head, whilst others rush in behind and lay hold of him by the hind quarters. Then, when the animal opens his mouth to snap at anyone, a man will go in and thrust a piece of wood between his jaws. When all this has been done the cub is dragged and carried to two poles lying on the ground, which are called the "poles for strangling." Here one pole is placed under his throat and the other on the nape of his neck. As soon as this has been arranged the people rush in with one accord and press the top pole down hard till the poor creature is choked. At last a man either shoots him with an arrow or stabs him through the heart with a long knife, taking care to catch the blood in some vessel. This the elders of the people and hunters drink while

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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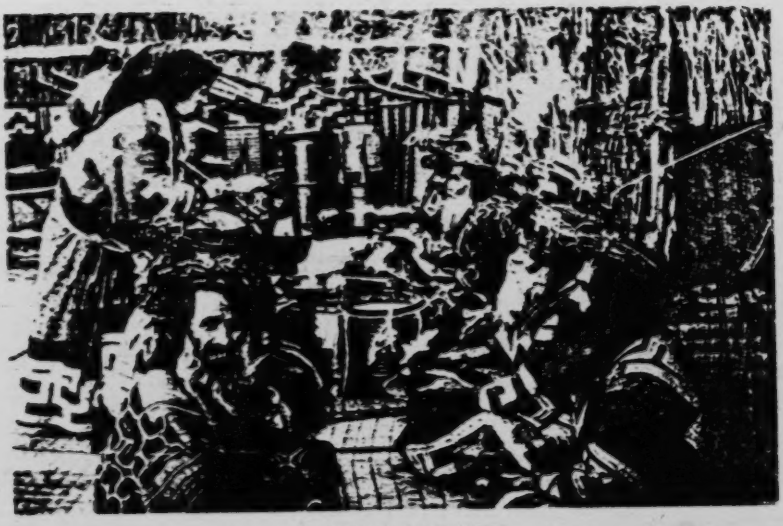
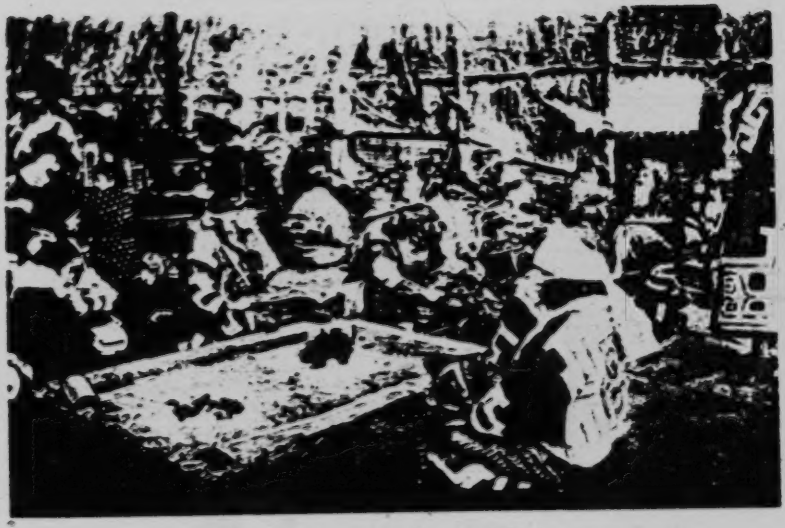


A DRINKING FEAST



AT THE BEAR FEAST

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

warm, and very great care is taken not to allow a single drop even to fall upon the ground. If one drop should be spilt, dire vengeance would be taken by the gods. This is the first part of the festival.

I am very happy to say that the Government authorities have at length forbidden the people to kill the cub by strangling, so that the ceremony is now more humane and in some other ways modified. No doubt the whole thing will be quite a custom of the past in another ten or fifteen years.

My informant continued: "As soon as the cub is dead, a passage way is made into the hut by breaking down the east-end window, and he is carried in. Here he is immediately skinned right down to one inch or so from his nose point, and then beheaded. The skin is left attached to the head. This is placed upon a mat called 'Fetish Floor,' the fetish being the head itself. The nose is placed so as to face the fire. Dried fish is nicely chopped up and made into little bundles called 'bundles placed under the chin.' Then delicious strings of millet dumplings are threaded, which are called "titbit bundles." These are very good and are placed beside the fish."

The above named things are placed close under the animal's snout, not to eat, indeed, but ready for him to carry off to the mountains to make a feast, of which he partakes with his parent bears. While all this has been going on, some of the flesh has been boiled and a good soup made in large cauldrons hanging over the fires on the hearth. A moustache-lifter is also placed by the cub's nose, even when it is a female. Chestnuts, walnuts, and sometimes Japanese sweets used also to be given to the guests when I first put in an appearance among them.

"Then," my friend added, "when the old men have placed their crowns on their heads, they dance, and, the head of the divine cub having been nicely arranged and many fetishes presented to him, he is given some

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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of his own cooked meat and broth to eat. And a little of his own blood is also set before him. After waiting a short time, when all are quite silent, the headman worships, saying, 'O divine One, we present Thee with these fetishes, cakes and dried fish. Take them to thy parents and say, "I have been brought up by an Ainu father and mother, and have been kept free from harm and trouble. I am now grown big and am come back to you. I have also brought cakes, dried fish, and fetishes with me. Let us rejoice." If you say this to them they will be glad.'

"After the meat has been cooked, some of it is put into cups and placed near the mouth of the cub, and all wait in respectful silence for a short time. After a bit the Master of Ceremonies calls out in a loud voice, 'The little divine one has now finished eating; come, ye friends, let us eat with him and worship.' He then takes a full cup, salutes it, offers a few drops to the fire, and divides it among the guests. This cup is called the "cup of offering" and also the "cup of the feast." And in this feast we find the people holding a communion with their God, namely, the Bear. The entrails of the creature are cut up fine, sprinkled with salt, and eaten raw.

"Later, a pole is prepared to hold the cub's head. This is placed outside at the nusa place. The head is taken and fixed in a crotch in the top, and is tied there with strings of shavings, and called "Life-containing-fetish."

"Thus, the skin having been quite detached from the head, peeled off, in fact, right down to the snout, the ears being left standing on the shining skull, the skull is taken outside through the east end window, now made into a doorway, and there set up on high. It is no longer called a bear's head, but the name is changed into "Divine Preserver." It is here frequently wor-

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

V

HEARTH AND HOME

THE AINU house is commonly called *chisei*, but as we have seen, the ancient name was *kenru*. The house of the Ainu was a place for worship of the *kamui* almost as much as a home. The Ainu seem never to have had temples. The nearest thing to such was the house of the village chief, *sapane-guru*.[1] This was much larger than other houses and was often resorted to on great occasions such as a Bear Festival. I am told that in this district when several families had reared captured bear cubs for sacrifice it was not unusual for all to be included in one celebration at the house of the chief, though this was not an invariable rule.[2] Such a house might hold more than a hundred persons when crowded together. In times of emergency or communal anxiety special services of supplication might be held there, but as a rule every man's house was his temple, enshrining the hearth-fire sacred to Kamui Fuchi.

Immediately outside, the *ramat* of the *kamui* at the *inau* fences, already described, conferred protection and help on those who served them. Moreover, the house and its contents were believed to be permeated by *ramat* from Shiramba Kamui, and because of this it was necessary to perform rites of exorcism to make sure that no evil spirits were lurking about it (see Chapter VI).

[1] The title, which means 'superior person', was given to the chief of a village district (*kotan*). The office was hereditary, the eldest son succeeding unless he was incapable or otherwise objectionable. In the old days an unsatisfactory chief might be killed if he did not mend his ways.—N.G.M.

[2] The salmon ceremony was held in the chief's house. The cult group consisted of the male householders of the locality. The bear ceremony was usually held in each hunter's house in turn.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

HEARTH AND HOME

342 In the construction of the Ainu roof, the main, and so far as I can learn, unique, feature, is the pair of tripods known as stretch-
[192] in wood (*ketun-ni*). The word *ni*, which means tree or thing of wood, here indicates poles or posts.[1] Plate X, fig. 4, shows a rough model of the *ketun-ni*. These remarkable tripods render the roof extremely stable and are well suited to the need for a central hearth. The design of the Ainu roof is anything but primitive, and having regard to the simple materials used is the most ingenious known to me. It is stable in violent storms and has proved resistant to earthquake shocks. The high pitch of the roof prevents excessive accumulation of snow, under which I have seen Japanese roofs fall in. It bears a heavy thatch which sheds the rain. It is high enough to be almost beyond the reach of sparks and takes most of the smoke, which escapes at one or other end of the ridge. The smoke from the central hearth is, however, sometimes almost intolerable unless one is sitting on the floor. Formerly, when the Ainu owned the forests, wood was stored till dry, but now green wood is mostly used and even that is scarce.

[177] The roof is still so highly venerated that even when a Japanese type of house is built the old-style roof is sometimes retained, though younger Ainu prefer a flat ceiling, which is more suited to the use of stoves or braziers.

[353] The dwelling-house is a single room partitioned by matting as required. Formerly there was either a built-out or a lean-to shed (*shem*) which formed a porch protecting the house entrance from direct wind and rain, and was a place for storing such things as a wooden pestle and mortar for grinding grain. Here unweaned
[766] babies were buried, and the mother's tears would fall with milk
[775] pressed from her breasts. The infant soul is still generally believed
[776] to be cared for by Kamui Fuchi until it enters its mother's womb to be reborn.

[556] In the past Ainu houses had no doors, but in the doorways of
[789] the well-to-do a specially strong mat was suspended. The Apa-sam
[776] Kamui on either side of the entrance guarded the house against

[231] [1] When hunters put up a temporary shelter they used a tripod frame over which they stretched deer or bear skins. This was also called *ketun-ni*. In legends (*uebekere*) two kinds of house are spoken of, the *yara chisei* which was
[173] covered with bark and the *poro ketunchi chisei* (large *ketunchi* house), which
[174] was covered with skins. Munro points out that this supports his hypothesis, that the tripod represents a survival of the tent of the ancient nomadic Ainu. —B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

evil spirits, and the faithful Ainu dog against bad men. Ainu honesty was, however, such that a house was generally safe but for resentful intrusion. A backward-shaven *inau* was inserted in the wall at the side of or above the entrance. This was an offering made anew for all ceremonial occasions. Curled shavings were attached at the entrance, above windows, and in corners where mischievous spirits might lurk.

Text fig. 2 shows the ground-plan of an average Ainu house. Facing the entrance (A) is the hearth (1) (*abe-shotki*), literally fire-bed. The hearth varies in size with the area of the room from about 5 to 8 feet in length and 3 to 5 feet in width. It is surrounded by a heavy wooden frame (*inumbe*) (2), which retains the ashes and defines the hearth as orientated in a line from the entrance to the sacred window. The foot of the hearth near the doorway is called *abe-kesh*, and the space near it where the women and children sit is called *usara* (B). The space at the sides is called fireside (*abe-sam*) (C).

The head of the hearth is the *abe-etok* or *hoka-etok*, head of the fire. Between this and the sacred window (F) is the space, known as *rorun* (D), of uncertain meaning. The sacred window is *rorun puyara*, a mere hole in the wall, formerly closed by a mat. Rennui-kesh told me of an old song and ritual dance with which the sunshine was greeted at this window.

At each of the top corners of the hearth, and projecting slightly above the *inumbe*, was a round post driven into the ground (4). These posts were called things-at-the-top of the hearth-frame (*inumbe-sa-ush-pe*). The one on the right hand, facing the entrance, the conventional seat of the house-owner, served as a work bench for marking implements, etc. This lent it peculiar importance, and when the house-owner died it was customary to pull it up and not replace it until the heir was in possession or the widow remarried. The latter seldom happened unless she married her husband's brother.

This post was not thrown away but given ritual dismissal. Before its removal prayer was made to Kamui Fuchi and then to Nusa-koro Kamui. According to Nisukrekguru it was then taken through the sacred window and reverently laid to rest at the soul *nusa*, but Tekatte Fuchi, a bright and reliable lady of eighty-four a veritable mine of tradition—is equally certain that it was deposited with Nusa-koro Kamui. There, disused things were left, but not

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

HEARTH AND HOME

514 Mention must be made of two important structures outside the house—the privy and the storehouse. The Ainu did not use the [241] privy as a source of fertilizer for the crops; Batchelor says he was [776] told that it would be an impertinence to the *kamui* of vegetation to [688] offer them help in this way. Nowadays men's and women's privies are usually together, with a flimsy partition or none, but formerly, I was told, the distance between the two privies was not less than twenty feet, the women's being further from the house than the [771] men's. Religion prescribed separate privies, less for the avoidance [783] of indecency than from a fear that the contagion of menstruation [841] and pregnancy might interfere with Ru-koro Kamui's vigour in [843] repelling and expelling evil spirits.

Storehouses (*pu*) were always raised on posts four to five feet 343 high. The chief object was protection from rats and mice. Bears 825 could smash them easily, but their attempts were often put to flight or kept at bay by the dogs. The rat was the worst enemy, often finding its way in to devour millet or other food. Snakes also entered, ate the young rats and drove away or even killed the big ones.

The snake was a minor *kinashut kamui*, and as protector of [462] provisions was known either as Haru[1] (provisions) *Kamui* or *Pu-Epungine* (store-protecting) Kamui. The women have charge of the storehouse; their respect for the snakes is mingled with fear.

● 231 Today one rarely sees a bear cub kept in a cage, either in the shed or outside, but in the days when the great Bear Festival was held it was a common sight. The only animals now kept are a dog or two in the shed.

776 The last spirit occupant of the house to be noted is Kenru [192] Katkimat, a female house-spirit not to be confused with the real housewife, who is known as Chisei-koro Katkimat (house-possessing wife). Katkimat means literally ability-to-do-woman, and is a title of respect. *Mat* is the ordinary word for woman or wife, and is also applied to a few female spirits, both good and bad. Kenru Katkimat [778] is rather hazily supposed to pervade the house. By some Ainu she is thought to be embodied in or represented by the *chisei-koro*

[192] [262] [1] *Haru* means food brought and given by *kamui*. Bear meat was called *kamui haru*, fish *chep haru* and edible plants *toi haru*. Bear meat was consumed only under the control of the householder, and he served bear meat to guests. Formerly each family seems to have had one storehouse for meat and another for fish.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

APPENDIX II: The Bear Ceremony

I have taken the following account of the Bear Ceremony from captions of the film made by Munro circa 1931.—B. Z. S.

AS among many other peoples of the Arctic and sub-Arctic, the Ainu show great reverence to all animal remains. Animals were ceremonially butchered, prayers were made to their skulls and gifts were offered to them so that their spirits might be pleased and return in physical form to be hunted again. All animals were treated in this respectful way, but greatest reverence was paid to the bear, which was captured as a cub and kept alive in a wooden cage for some years before being ceremonially slain. Munro does not state how often this sacrifice was made, but I think only one cub was reared in a village at a time.[1] The ceremony was held at the best house in the village, and this would have been the house of the *kotan* chief. After the sacrifice, there is little doubt that efforts would be made to capture another cub to rear for the next ceremony, when the cub had grown to a suitable size. The caged bear was treated with the respect due to a god (*kamui*).

Before the ritual begins, special food must be prepared. Millet is pounded into flour from which the women make special dumplings—large ones for the god and spirit relatives and smaller ones for Ainu guests. They will perforate these in the centre and thread them on sticks. They will also make small round cakes which will be thrown like confetti.

The day before the main ceremony, friends gather at the house of the festival host, usually bringing food for the occasion. First, Kamui Fuchi is given offerings at the hearth, and the people ask for her approval and protection. Then, other household deities are revered, and the gods outside the house are solicited in turn. Outside the sacred window, facing east, stand fences supporting *inau*, which are special offerings to the gods and also serve as a means of communication with them. In gala dress and head-band of sacred curled shavings, the elder offers libations to the gods. The house where the ceremony is held is a good typical Ainu dwelling.

[1] This was the normal practice, but if several cubs had been captured, they might all be sacrificed at the same time, and the ceremony for them all would be held at the house of the *kotan* chief.

262 /454 cont./ But Though The Sea is The Principal source of food for the Ainu to such a great extent, a number of products of terra firma are of the greatest importance for them. Among all the land animals, they, like the Gilyak, pay the greatest attention to the bears, common on Sakhalin as well as on Jesso, whose meat and fat are highly prized by them and consumed only at festive gatherings, to which I shall come back later in connection [231] with the discussion of the Gilyak bear festivals. It has already been mentioned above that the Ainu also eat dogs, their only domestic animal, used to draw their sleds. Finally, as in the [171] above, so also do the Ainu correspond to the Gilyak with regard to their diet in that they consume many vegetable products of their country, berries, roots, herbs -- for the most part even the same /455/ kinds (1)--and likewise always with the addition of seal oil (2).

[113]

1. Cf. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth series, Vol. XII, [251] No. 2, pp. 98, 210 ff.). Even the old Dutch mariners (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenk. toelich., p. 108) noted, among other things, that the Ainu on Jesso stored up rose hips for the winter, as we have seen above for the Gilyak, especially on Sakhalin.

2. Mamia Rinso (op. cit., p. 183) says: the Ainu "add fish oil to everything in the hope that they will then remain free of all stomach pain, even if they have eaten something poisonous."

262 On the other hand, the fact that the Ainu practically entirely lack
179 the above-mentioned Manchu-Chinese cereals, which have largely become a necessity for the Gilyak, and instead of them Japanese rice is a common foodstuff, and, indeed, workers in the service of the Japanese is at times even the principal and, in addition to

G 223 [439] /565 cont./ article of trade with the Japanese, among whom, as the former told me, they are used to decorate the windows in the dwellings of prominent persons, thereby distinguishing them from the dwellings of ordinary people. Moreover, the Gilyak use eagle feathers G [239] [411] [964] to feather their arrows and to make certain articles of symbolic significance for their little burial houses. In order to obtain the rectrices of the eagle as undamaged as possible, the Gilyak take G 223 231 439 the young birds out of the nest, in connection with which they fell tall trees that are hard to climb and have nests in their tops before the young can fly. The captured young eagles are kept chained to the fish-drying racks and fed with fish scraps until they are in full feather, whereupon they are killed, but their tail feathers are carefully spread out between sheets of birch bark and in this fashion stored for trading. The number of eagles annually caught and raised by the Gilyak must be very considerable, since one can scarcely enter a Gilyak village in which he does not see several of them on fish-drying racks. In particular, however, the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk is regarded as the eagle region proper, because there not only the myghr-tscham is captured, but also the tscharngai-tscham, whose tail feathers are especially prized by the Japanese. Thus, it is not at all unusual for the Amur and Liman Gilyak to go to the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk for a stay of several years in order to obtain eagles' tails G: 231 439 114 136 there. Like the Gilyak, their closer and more distant neighbors on the Amur, the Olcha and Goldi, also occupy themselves with raising young fishing eagles of the same species (Hal. albicilla, Olcha gussi, Goldi kāktscha), and, to be sure, not, as Maack thinks (1), in order to show them religious veneration or to keep

1. Putesh. na Amur", pp. 143, 170, 206.

other birds away from the fish hanging on the drying racks, but likewise only in order to sell their tails to the Japanese, which A 231 439 is done either directly or through the Gilyak. Finally, the same is done by the Ainu of Jesso and the Kuriles, as has been

A 231 439 /565 cont./ reported by Vries (2), Steller (3), Broughton (4), /566/ and others.

2. Siebold, Aard. en volkenkund. toelicht., p. 101.

3. Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamchatka, p. 194.

4. Voyage of discovery to the North Pacif. Oc., p. 107.

E 239 411 Eagle feathers, however, also enjoy special popularity for the feathering of arrows among the Eskimo of northwestern America, along the Kwichpak, Norton Sound, etc. (1).

E [113] 1. Zagoskin", Peshekhodn. opis' chasti russk. vlad. v" Amerikie /A Foot-traveler's Description of Part of the Russian Possessions in America/, Part I, p. 61.

G 326 [411] At various places in the foregoing, mention has been made of the iron utensils and iron weapons of the Gilyak, in the course of which we have come across, especially among the latter, specimens of very artistic workmanship. This is therefore the place to inquire into the origin and eventually into the manner of the manufacture of these objects. The circumstance that the G [342] [396] [493] [335] Gilyak do not use any iron in the exterior or interior construction of their houses, and likewise in the making of boats, sleds, etc. always use only wooden pegs instead of iron nails to join the individual pieces together, does not lead one to expect them to be masters in the craft of forging, and at first glance suggests the conjecture that the numerous and in part neat and artistically worked iron utensils and weapons found among them are of G [175] foreign origin. Nevertheless, this is by no means the case. Even in the earliest reports they are described as skilled armorers. OOO During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous

796 /735 cont./
182 believe that, governed by fear and superstition, they see in it
[181] merely a means of exploiting the bear quietly and with impunity.
The view on which the bear festival rests therefore seems to me
[171] to be exactly the same among the Ainu as among the Gilyak, and
the customary practices of both peoples in connection with it corre-
spond in their basic features.

796 The Japanese Kannemon reports in his "Jeso-ki" that, if the
23 Ainu find a bear cub, they bring it home, where it is suckled by
152 the wife of the finder (7) -- a story that sounds very improbable,

[113] 7. Titsingh, "Ieso-ki ou description de l'île d'Iesso, composée par Kannemon en 1652 /Ieso-ki, or Description of the Island of Yesso, written by Kannemon in 1652/" (Malte-Brun, Ann. des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 154). Also Klaproth, San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou aperçu général des trois royaumes /San kokf tsou ran to sets, or General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, Paris, 1832, p. 236.

though at the bear festival in Kunnui Scheube saw such a bear wet-
nurse, who sat sadly to one side and now and then even burst into
[182] tears. To be sure, it seemed to him that her sadness was not feigned
[183] and, say, merely prescribed by the rules of the festival, but was
actually prompted by the fate of her foster child, but then later she
participated actively in the dances customary at the festival, in fact
even /736/ led them herself in part, and, since weeping and mourn-
ing over the bear is a necessary requirement of a bear festival in
order to be relieved of all guilt for the death of the bear and any
ultimate responsibility for it, one would certainly not be mistaken
in ascribing the alleged grief to this conception which is common
to the Ainu along with the Gilyak and other peoples. Among the
231 Gilyak, at any rate, I never heard anything which would confirm
171 Kannemon's tale about the Ainu. Among them a watery mossj is
more likely to serve as the first food for a bear cub. Free at first,
or kept in a little cage in one corner of the hut, the bear, when

/736 cont./

231 171 it becomes larger, is put in a stronger prison outside the house and built exactly as among the Gilyak, and is fed on fish (1). The

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1. In Rumjanzof Bay on Jesso, as well as in Aniwa Bay on Sakhalin, Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 79) and Langsdorff (Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/, Vol. I, p. 285) saw a young bear in almost every Ainu hut.

only way in which an Ainu bear-cage differs from a Gilyak one is that the more or less long poles planted at the corners of the structure, with fine wooden spirals hanging from them, as they were seen by Coen, the helmsman of one of the boats led by Vries in the discovery of Aniwa Bay in 1643 (2), may scarcely be lacking

2. Siebold, Aardr. - en volkenk. toelicht., etc., p. 110.

on it (3).

3. See also Scheube, loc. cit.

796 798 171 These poles or sticks with fluttering wooden spirals, called inau or inao by the Ainu of Sakhalin, inabo by those of Jesso, imitations of the hei or gohei sticks adorned with strips of paper which are used as symbols of divinity and holiness in the old Japanese kami religion (Sintô /Shinto/) (4), play an important part at the

4. Scheube, loc. cit. . Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 203.

bear festival of the Ainu. Not only the bear's cage, but also the interior of the hut is decorated with them, and they are set up in great number around it and in front of it on a place on the east side of it where the bear is eventually killed. Bamboo leaves

/736 cont./

796 fastened on with them and in part to them are also used for deco-
798 ration during the bear festival, according to Scheube, in order to
171 express through their evergreen and nonperishable condition the wish that the dead bear may live again. In the north of Sakhalin and in the Amur region, where there is no bamboo, we saw the Gilyak use the likewise evergreen cedar and fir branches for the same purpose of decoration and also toss these into the fire dedicated to the bear, in order to evoke its good will by the smoke and fragrance produced by buring them and to express to it or its manes, if not the wish for a reawakening of life, at any rate their respect and veneration.

796 According to Mamia Rinsô (5), among the Ainu of Sakhalin
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5. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 189.

another festival precedes the bear festival proper, and at it, if the bear is two or three years old, its eyeteeth are blunted so that it cannot wound anybody with its bite. For this, /737/ after it
[413] has been lifted from its cage by means of a noose, its feet are tied to poles so that it cannot jump, and the points of the eyeteeth removed with a saw-like instrument made by them themselves.
[171] The more courageous, bolder, and, in dealing with the bear, more experienced and probably also more skilled Gilyak scorn doing this and, on the contrary, regard being wounded by a bear, which not infrequently happens among them, as the greatest of honors.

796 At the bear festival proper, ending with the killing and eat-
782 ing of the bear, before putting a hand on it the Ainu offer a libation, first the men and then the bear's wet-nurse and several older women, in the house to the god of fire in front of the hearth decorated with an inau and then to the house god in the corner dedicated to him. This is done by lifting a sake-filled cup to the forehead with the left hand and with the right dipping a small flat stick pointed at one end, which was lying across the cup, into the liquid and letting a few drops fall to the ground or, before the god of fire, into it itself, and then moving the stick back and forth

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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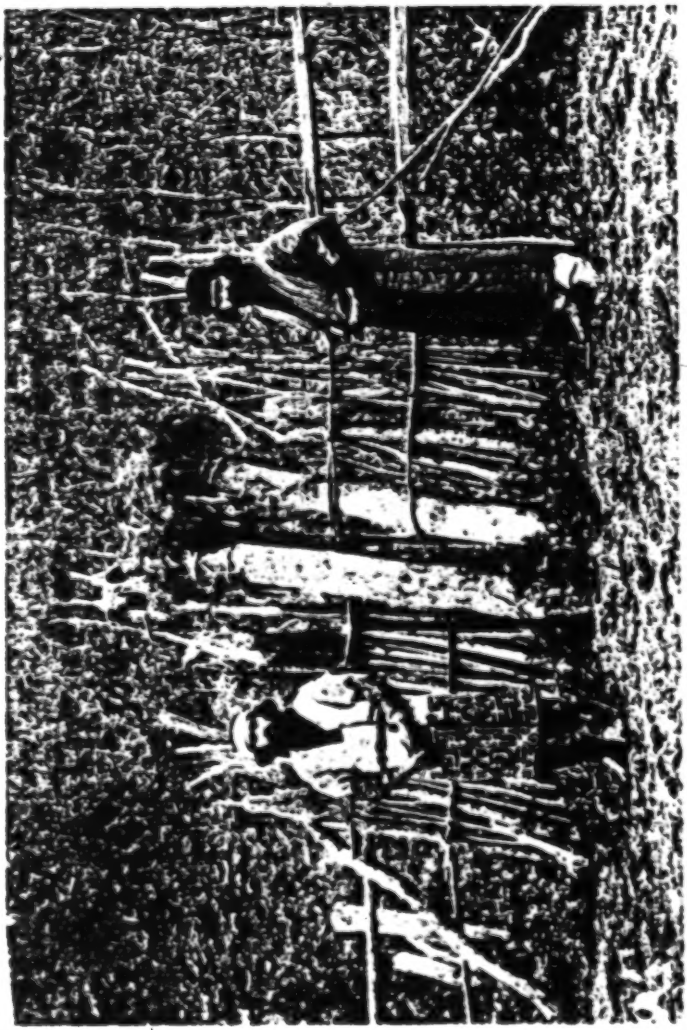


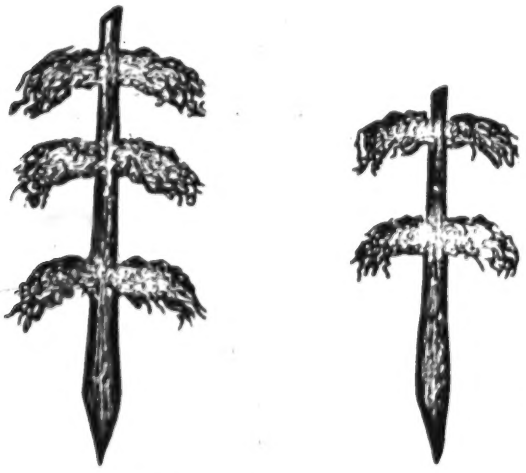
BEAR'S HEAD SET UP ON HIGH FOR WORSHIP

[p.210(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

shipped. The whole is called *kew-mesde-ni*, i.e. "tree for sending off the living creature." 527 231

"Then one 'spread out, and one 'twisted wand,' two in all, are set up over the cub's head. After this its own specially prepared viands—dumplings and fish—and a few cub arrows are presented to it to carry on its journey back to the mountains." [778]



FETISHES MADE AT A BEAR FESTIVAL

So we find the idea of a death is emphatically denied. The animal is not killed, but his living spirit is sent away to its heaven in the mountains. There he once more enjoys the society of his parents and friends. After a time there he is supposed to be reincarnated and to return to this earth as another cub. Such was my native friend's very interesting written account of the *iyomande* or "sending away" festival. This national feast goes on till late in the night, when such as are able to do so return to their homes or go to stay with friends in the village. Much *saké* is, of course, consumed, and all get more or less intoxicated. The [761 775]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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231 hut is a sad sight in the morning, when the men may be seen still lying about the floor, snoring where they fell over. And it is a sad thing to see the crowns the men were lying scattered about among the cups.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 sponsible for my safety and great care was to be taken of me," they told him. "Oh, that is all right and very kind of the local authorities, but I have a passport which gives me authority to travel that way, so it is quite all right. Don't worry," I said, "but you need not come, for you must not do what the authorities forbid you." And there the matter was left, excepting that I heard the old man sigh repeatedly when he saw me making preparations to start on the morrow. At last, with a big grunt he jumped up and went out. And I saw him no more that night.

At daybreak next morning the chief came to my bedside and whispered, "Sir, I am going with you. I have thought of a plan. I was only told that I must not take you along the paths, but nothing at all was said about the river. I have a boat ready. Come." I was not in the least worried as to my personal safety, even though there were no police up there in those days, for I knew the Ainu were my friends and would do me no harm, and that they were a very gentle people. And so we went. And this is the way in which I first came to know several of the chiefs and my very good friend Tee. I only stayed a short time on this occasion and got back to Piratori without meeting with any fanatics, or accidents of any kind.

114 After a few years had passed I went and stayed
115 with the Tee family and had a very happy and enlightening time there. The only drawback was the small smoky hut, for the smoke was, I found, very hard on my eyes. Mr. Tee was a mighty bear-hunter and told me he had taken as many as nine of these fierce animals in one season, all by himself with his dogs. That was a pretty good bag and the pelts brought him in quite a good round sum of money.

● 231 It was in his house that I gained my first close experience with a bear cub. They had a very tiny one

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

loose in the hut, playing daily with the children. It 231
was so small that the wife had to bring it up like one of her own babies. At night it went and curled itself up in the bosom of the master. Being a stranger, it did not at first care to come near me, but with a little coaxing, he and I soon became the best of friends. I watched him carefully and a more cunning little beast I think I have never seen.

One day as I was sitting quietly writing at the head of the hearth, I saw little Bruin come stealthily into the hut, walk quietly up to a pot which was hanging at the lower end of the fireplace with cold cooked millet in it, stand up on his hind legs, place one forepaw on the edge of the pot to keep it steady, lift the lid partly off with the other and put it on one side, and then scoop handfuls out and eat as fast as he could. I gazed at him for a few minutes with admiration and astonishment. Presently I roared out, "Oh, you thieving scoundrel!" The rogue immediately dropped to his feet, gave one swift glance at me, smirked, and rushed out of the hut as much like a streak of lightning as it is possible for a bear to be. I was intensely amused and I sat still for a time to see what would happen next.

In about half an hour I saw the creature place one forepaw on the door post, slowly lift up the mat hanging in the doorway with the other, and then pop his head round the corner, look at me, twinkle his eyes, slap the mat down in its place, and forthwith rush off again post-haste. He evidently thought there was not enough room in that hut for the two of us. He got no more to eat till supper time. When the mistress came home from her garden, I told her about it, but 825
she did not seem to be at all surprised, for she simply smiled and said, "The young scamp! At it again!" The husband laughed when he heard of it, nodded at the tale, and said, "The little demon! All bear cubs are very cunning and their parents exceedingly wise and clever."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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231 and clever." A little later the creature's claws became so strong and painful to those who played with him, that he was put into a cage and there well fed by Mrs. Tee till it was time to have the festival and kill and eat him.

224 When hunting bears, Tee told me that he and his dogs used to go and look for the place in which one was hibernating, and then he would settle how to attack and kill him. He said that in the snow which covered the den, there was always just a small yellow discoloration made by the warm breath of the animal. The dogs were very clever at finding this, and when found, they would stand round it and set up a great baying till he came to them. He and his dogs then worked away the snow from the entrance of the den, and, when the hole was sufficiently big, he himself would crawl in on his hands and knees, carrying a long knife with him. The dogs would stay outside to watch the entrance. They were there to check the animal when he made the rush into the open. And "they knew their business."

"But," I said, "is it not very dangerous to crawl like that into a bear's den?"

"Yes," he said, "there is always danger, but bears at that time are in a state of silly drowsiness, and do not seem to like to kill anything in their dens. And when they rush out the light confuses them. In the den they stretch out a paw and thrust an intruder roughly to the back of the place. When I get there, and I sometimes have done so without being seen, I prick the animal from behind with my knife, and, not liking this, he makes a rush for the open, where the dogs bait him till I come and kill him."

Tee was a very brave man and had a superabundance of cool courage and nerve. I admired the man. He was one worth knowing. He told me also that in the event of being hugged by a bear, the only escape was by no means to draw away, but to press well in

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 and will give the reader plenty of scope for his imagination.

539 "The people of a certain village employed an Empty-House-Demon. These people had their winter houses among the mountains.* During the summer months these were left empty and placed in charge of the devil.

"One day two large luggage sleighs went from the winter quarters to the summer village to fetch goods. When they started to return they found the sleighs so very heavily laden that before they could reach home, darkness overtook them. In fact, they lost their way. As they went along, the leading sleigh passed through the courtyard of a house, but when the one following got just beyond the door a sound was heard as of someone coming out of the house. What could it be? Was it a devil or a man? Whatever it was, it came and laid hold of the arch of the sleigh and held on fast. Urge the dogs on as the driver might, they could not move, however much they stretched their necks out in pulling.

"The man therefore called to the sleigh ahead, 'The old people of this house desire me to spend the night here and have made it so that I cannot move on. There is no help for it, so I think I will stay over.' The answer came back, 'Very well. If you think so, stay on. It will be all right. As for me, I shall not stay.' And so he went to tell the news to his village friends.

"Then the man who stayed behind said to the demon, 'And so, as you wish me to spend the night here, you have brought my sleigh to a stand. Very well. Perhaps you will hurry in and quickly blow up the

[22 226 262 231 251]

*The Northern Ainu dwelt among the hills during the cold weather for warmth in their pit houses. During the summer they went to the seashore and lowlands to catch fish, which was their "staff of life." The dogs also were fed on dried fish the whole year through. When in Saghalien I saw the inside of the roofs of the houses crammed full of fine salmon being preserved by smoking.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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MODERN HUNTERS

[p. 372]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER LI

ON CATCHING FISH

The Ainu were formerly great fish eaters; in fact, fish was their staple food—their "staff of life." The general name for "fish" is *chep*, sometimes heard as *chi-ep*, and this means "what we eat." The large autumn salmon, which they call *shibe*, is a very fine fish and sometimes goes up in weight to 40 pounds. It used to be very plentiful. The summer salmon, which enters the rivers in June, was also much eaten and was also very plentiful during the season. The fish were taken sometimes by netting and sometimes by spearing, and, during the winter months, with hook and line dangled through holes made in the ice. Both along the sea coasts and the banks of rivers, the men set torches to attract the fish during the night and also held some torches over the holes in the ice. In this way they took many.

A MAREK OR FISH SPEAR

No. (1) is the iron hook. It is so fixed to the end of the shaft (2) that when a fish is struck with it the point enters the flesh and is drawn over. The more the creature struggles, the tighter the hook holds. No. (3) is the skin thong which fixes the hook to the shaft.

Fishing along the shallow places of the sea coast in the north was extremely interesting when trained dogs were used. The process was as follows. Several

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

226 men would start off with 20 or 30 dogs and march
● 231 along the sandy bays where there were shallows. As soon as they reached the place agreed upon, they would come to a halt. Half the men and dogs would then move along the water's edge for about 200 yards, the other half remaining.

Then at a signal the dogs were started from their respective points and caused to swim straight out to seaward in single file in two columns. At a sharp, loud call from all the Ainu in unison, the right column wheeled left and the left column wheeled right until the heads of both columns met. Then at another loud cry they all swam toward the shore in crescent formation. As they neared the shore, the increasing numbers of fish could be seen in the shallows, frightened forward by the splashing of the dogs following them.

As soon as the dogs found the bottom they pounced upon the fish like a flash of lightning. Many of the fish jumped ashore, pressed by the shoal which was urged along by the well-trained dogs. Every dog which caught a fish carried it to his master and would hand it over to him and to no one else. When received, the master would cut off its head at once and give it to his dog, for this was recognized both by man and dog alike as his special portion. The poor animal which
[178] brought in no fish went home supperless. Such fishing, however, is now a thing of the past.

226 The people used to make a kind of fish trap they
227 called an *wai*. These were generally placed across the rivers near the various tributaries. They were made of stakes driven into the river bed, the spaces between the stakes being filled in with a kind of wickerwork. This served as a fence to keep the fish from passing. The traps were made in the shape of an arrowhead, and always pointed down-stream. At the end, or point, of the arrow-head a doorway was made, and a kind of net, which was made to slip up and down

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

825 776 error to suppose that the Ainos regard the bear as a god in the same sense as they do the God of Fire, for example, or any of their other numerous deities. The bear is called *Kimui; Kamui-Kamui* is an Aino word having about the same meaning as the Japanese *Kami*, and perhaps is derived from it. But the same word is used as an honorable [576] appellation for foreign visitors, upon whom we can not possibly believe they would confer the attributes of a deity.

The Ainos have good reason to respect the bear. It is a most valuable animal, affording them food and clothing and a medicine, the bear-gall, which is greatly prized. On the other hand, it can do them great injury, as when it destructively enters their dwellings and kills their domestic animals. Therefore it is natural that they should seek to propitiate the bear, to confer upon him a title of great honor, and that they should consider an atonement necessary for putting him to death. They place the skull of the dead bear on the sacred hedge, the *nusha kamui*, which is found on the east side of every house, where it is held sacred [778] and honored as a representative of the gods under the name *Kamui marapto*. The *nusha kamui*, god's fence, or sacred hedge, (Pl. CXII) is where the various gods are worshiped, except the God of Fire and the house-god, to which offerings are made at certain places within the house. The bear feast is named *iomante*. This ceremony, as well as the preliminary feeding and rearing of a young bear, has also the motive of an atonement to the whole bear tribe for the killing of its brothers and sisters.

231 796 At the end of winter a young bear is caught, placed in a cage (Pl. CXIII), and reared in the village. At first it is suckled by the wife of the captor, afterwards fed with fish. The bear festival usually takes place in September or October, by which time the young bear has grown so large and strong as to threaten to break the cage. The Ainos first endeavor to exculpate themselves before the gods for what they are about to undertake. Having rendered the bear every favor possible, they can no longer keep him in captivity; therefore it is necessary to kill him.

796 The man who gives the feast, assumes the expense thereof and invites his relatives and friends. Such a festival is, considering the poverty of the Ainos, very expensive, for enormous quantities of saké are consumed. Hence it is considered a great honor to give a bear feast. At the present time the bear feasts are becoming more and more infrequent. On the east coast, so far as I traveled (from Tomakomai to Volcano Bay), no bear feast had been held for several years. The same remark applies to the district around Mori, on Volcano Bay. I have generally seen caged bears only on the road from Urap to Oshamambe. In this region I found the Ainos least affected by culture. Here, in the small village of Kunnai, I spent the day, which will be the subject of the following description:

On the 10th of August of this year, about noon, I arrived at Kunnai,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

were endeavouring to make a meal. Round them were gathered about thirty dogs, wild with hunger, barking furiously at the frightened children, and attacking and fighting them for that miserable repast.

I walked along the beach, and endeavoured to make friends with some of the Ainu who were less shy than the others. One little girl was especially picturesque. She was only about ten, and her large eyes, tanned complexion, white teeth, the tiny bluish-black tattoo on her upper lip, her uncombed long black hair flying around her, and her red cloth ear-rings, made her indeed one of the quaintest studies of colour that I have seen in my life. I got her to sit for me; and while I was painting her, an old man, the chief of the village, dressed up in a gaudy costume, with a crown of willow shavings on his head, came to me and made his "salaams." He bore the name of Angotsuro, and before all his salaams were over he found himself "caught in the action" in my sketch-book. Many of the villagers had collected round, and one of them, a half-caste, expressed the wish that I should paint the chief in colours, like the picture of the girl. I asked for nothing better, and started an oil-sketch of him. The excitement of the natives who were witnessing the operation grew greater and greater as each new ornament in the chief's dress was put in the picture. Some seemed to approve of it, others were grumpy, and apparently objected to the picture being taken at all. The *séance* was indeed a stormy one; and though the chief had his regal crown knocked off his head two or three times by the anti-artistic party, he sat well for his likeness, especially as I promised him in Japanese, that when the picture was completed he should be given a few coins and two buttons off my coat.

It was while portraying him that I noticed what extraordinary effects colours produce on those whose eyes are unaccustomed to them. A man in the crowd would get excited, and open his eyes wide and show his teeth every time I happened to touch with my brush the cobalt blue on my palette. Other colours had not the same effect on him. His eyes were continually fixed on the blue, anxiously waiting for the brush to dip in it, and this would then send him into fits of merriment. I squeezed some blue paint from a tube on

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

finding my way back to my less musical quarters; and passing too close to some of the other huts, the dogs—which infest all Ainu villages—barked furiously and roused the whole place.

I learned afterwards that it is an Ainu fashion to try a man's courage. This is done in the way in which my musical friends tried mine, namely, by making a sudden rush with a knife as if death and destruction were imminent, which to a perfect stranger, unconscious of the strain of "bluff" in the action, is not very reassuring. If the person to be tested is aware of this fashion he has to submit to an unlimited number of whacks, administered to him on his bare back, with a heavy war-club. These tests of a man's courage and endurance are called the *Ukorra*.

In the first instance it is done, in a certain sense, good-naturedly, and not meaning to hurt one. Should, however, the person apparently so dangerously threatened show fright or signs of cowardice, he loses the respect of the Ainu, unless he has the happy thought of giving them a sufficient quantity of some intoxicating liquor to make them all drunk—which is a sure means of turning the most inimical Ainu you may meet into your fast friend, even if you have had a deadly feud with him.

The second way—with the war-club—of course is a painful process, and the Ainu have recourse to it when it is necessary to determine the relative amount of courage possessed by certain members of a community. The one that can stand the greater number of blows is naturally entitled to the respect and admiration of his neighbours, and he is elected leader in bear-hunts or similar expeditions. At the election of a new chief—when the chief's line of descendants dies out—this process, I was told, is often practised; for bravery is the first quality which an Ainu chief must possess.

At Aputa, through some of the half-castes, I was able to pick up a great number of Ainu words, which were most useful to me afterwards; and from that, gradually increasing my stock of words, I soon knew enough to understand a little and also to make myself understood.

One day I went along the coast to the next village of Repun, and then retraced my steps to Aputa, as there was nothing of interest at the former place.

An excursion which I enjoyed more was to the Toya Lake,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I was told here again that Ainu women often suckle small bears at their breasts so as to fatten them up for the festival; and one not infrequently sees the women in Ainu households chewing food, and letting the young cub take it from their lips.

These Ainu are much more interesting as types, and also much purer in race, than either the Piratori or the Volcano Bay Ainu. A learned missionary, who has not himself visited these people, writes as follows regarding them:—"The Ainu of the Tokapchi district, in Yezo, are spoken of as having been particularly addicted to this kind of warfare (night raids against each other, in which the men were murdered, and the women stolen and used as slaves or kept as concubines), and are even now held in abhorrence by the people of some villages. They are said not only to have murdered people, but also to have eaten some of them. They were, therefore, cannibals, and I have heard them spoken of as 'eaters of their own kind.'"[1]

From my own personal experience—and I may add I am the only foreigner who has seen these Tokachi, or as others call them, Tokapchi Ainu—I came to a conclusion very different from this. I found that not only were they not cannibals, but that, taken altogether, they were the most peaceable, gentle, and kind Ainu I came across during my peregrinations through the land of the hairy people. Indeed, I am sorry to say that it is not savagery that makes the Ainu bad, but it is civilisation that demoralises them. The only place in Yezo where I was actually ill-treated by Ainu, as my readers will remember, is the village where they were said to be "very civilised."

I have no wish to force my opinion on the public as the correct one. I do but describe what I have actually seen in a district in which others who have written on this subject have never set foot, and I leave it to my readers to judge who has most claim to be heard.

The language of the Tokachi Ainu varies considerably from the language spoken in more civilised districts, and none of the natives up the river could speak Japanese when I was there.

[1] Rev. John Batchelor, 'The Ainu of Japan,' chap. xx.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

rivers where fish is abundant, as in the Yezo watercourses. The Ainu at Frishikobets took very kindly to sitting for their portraits, and one after the other—all the best types—were immortalised either in oils or in pencil. Strange to say, I came across another old woman, a lunatic, very similar to the one I saw at Yammakka. Her face was that of a witch, her eyebrows joining downwards somewhat in the shape of an owl's beak. Her long pale hands and face, and the long wild hair covering half her face, gave her a striking appearance. She had, however, not yet reached the stage of imbecility which her Yammakka sister had attained. Lunacy is very common among the Ainu, and the unfortunate creature thus afflicted seems to lose not only the respect, but also the pity, as well as care, of all the others, and is treated by them as a worthless animal.

After crossing the Frishikobets River, some distance off, on the east side of the Tokachi River, are the villages of Uparpenai,[1] twenty-one Ainu huts, Memuro-puto,[2] sixteen huts, and Ottoinnai,[3] fourteen huts. Then comes Kinney, with seven houses; and finally Nitumap,[4] the last village on the Tokachi River, has as many as thirty-six houses.

The huts of the Tokachi region are much smaller than those on the Saru River, and near many of them is a cage, in which a big yellow or black bear is confined. The natives told me that yellow and black bears were numerous in the neighbourhood. Deer (the *yuk*, male deer, and *mowambe*, female), were formerly plentiful, but now are very scarce. A few years ago a pestilence killed great numbers of them, and since then they have dwindled away.

Not many miles from Frishikobets a huge cliff rises perpendicularly along the Shikarubets River. A landslip seems to have taken place, which leaves one side of the cliff perfectly bare and rugged, showing the strata composing the soil. It is of a light yellowish colour, and it is called by the

[1] *U*, place; *par*, mouth; *pe*, undrinkable water; *nai*, stream; *U'parpenai*, a place at the mouth of a stream of undrinkable water.

[2] *Me*, in front; *mu*, sheltered spot in a river; *ro*, track; *puto*, mouth of river; *Memuro-puto*, track in front of a sheltered spot at the mouth of a river.

[3] *Otto*, into; *i*, a place; *nai*, stream; *Ottoinnai*, a place in a stream.

[4] *Nitumap*, open trunk of a tree.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

close to the sea. North of this river there are three more lagoons—the Komuki, the Shibumotzunai, and the Yassuchi, the first two of which have direct estuaries into the sea, generally blocked by drift-sand, and both are as dangerous as the Saruma lagoon when the water unexpectedly overflows. Owing to the heavy rains on the mountains the level of the lakes had risen considerably when I went through, and crossing the mouth of the first in a flat-bottomed boat, I was nearly swamped. The Ainu who was ferrying me across did not lose his presence of mind, and after a long struggle and violent efforts we reached the opposite shore. Yubets is a village of eighteen Ainu and three Japanese huts. The Ainu along these shores are extremely hairy, and some of them have red beards, while others are bald. Near some of their huts you may see cages where foxes and eagles are kept in captivity.

The women, all the way to Soya Cape, the most northern point of Yezo, have given up tattooing a long moustache and their arms. A small semicircular spot, similar to the tattoo of the Shari women, is nevertheless not uncommon. Bears, yellow and black, again are said to be in huge quantities on the thickly-wooded mountains at the back of the Saruma and other lagoons.

The coast is most desolate-looking. One may travel mile after mile without seeing a hut or meeting a single human being. Now and then, when I came to a lonely fisherman's hut, I was civilly treated; and, riding from morn till night, I reached Shari Mombets, where there are forty Ainu huts and about the same number of Japanese fishermen's shanties. It has a small anchorage for small junks only; but, unfortunately, it is not well protected, as the reef of rocks which runs in a north-east direction does not extend far out to sea. I was roughly treated here at first, for some Russian convicts, who had escaped from Sakhalin in an open boat, had been drifted by the current down this coast, and previously to my arrival had landed in the vicinity of this village. They were half starved, and could not speak a word of the language. They had no money and no clothes, and none of the natives seemed willing to help them in any way. Now that the long-wished-for freedom was obtained after years of servitude and chains,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

AN EAGLE-DISPLAYED SABLE.

CHAPTER XIV.

Along the Lagoons of the North-east Coast—From Shari Mombets to Poronai.

I PROCEEDED north. The Ainu scattered here and there on the coast seemed to be hairier and uglier than any of their inland brethren. Two or three women had already put on their winter fur garments, as the cold weather had begun; and they looked extremely picturesque in them. Most of the huts were uninhabited, and had been abandoned by their owners. The sky was whitish and cold, and here and there along the beach some huge bones of whales had been washed

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

136 Herrings are plentiful all along the coast, but fishing stations could not possibly pay, even if any were established, owing to the difficulty and expense of carriage and freight, and the risk that ships would run in calling at such exposed and unprotected shores.

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340
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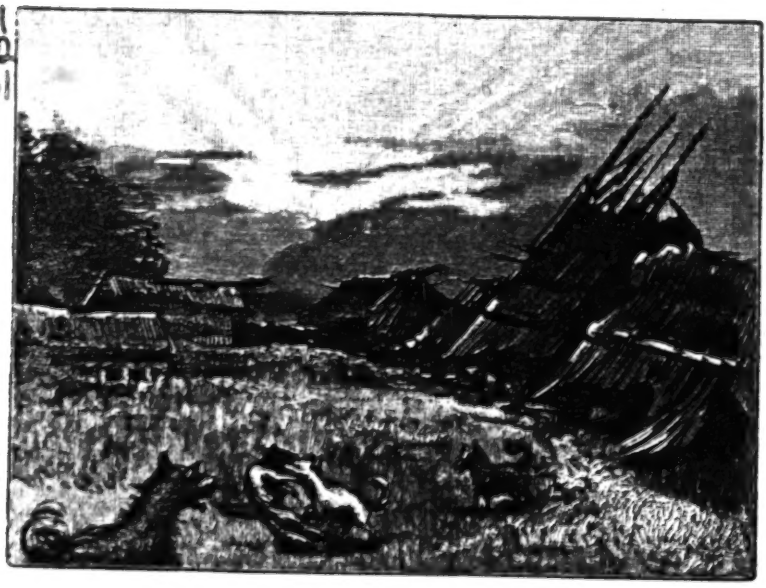


AINU VILLAGE ON THE EAST COAST OF YEZO.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

343 the upper Tokachi, however, they are covered with the bark of trees.

417 825 554 Next in connection with Ainu habitations comes the skull-trophy at the east end of the hut. This is on a parallel line to the hut wall, and only a few yards away from it, and is made of a number of bi-forked poles, upon which are placed the skulls of the bears, wolves, and foxes killed by the owner of the hut. The Ainu is proud of this trophy, and if the number of bear skulls is very large, he commands a certain amount of respect from his hairy brethren. There is nothing that Ainu admire more than courage, and there is nothing in the world that an Ainu desires more than to be thought brave. When he has gained this character a man becomes in a certain way the "lion" of the village. He embellishes his trophy with a *Nusa* and *Inaos* (willow wands with overhanging shavings—*see* Chapter on Superstitions), and he always looks on it as an evidence of his manly glory. Besides this, many ● 231 Ainu possess one or two live bears kept in cages. Bear hunters often secure one or more cubs, which they bring home and allow to live in the hut like one of the family or an Irishman's pig. These cubs are nursed along with and in the same manner as the children, and Ainu say that women often put them to the breast and suckle them like their own infants. Whether this is true or not I cannot say; but though I have never seen it, and therefore cannot vouch for it, it is not unlike Ainu women to do such a thing.

417 231 When the new-comers grow big and powerful enough to be dangerous, the men make a rough cage with logs of timber, placing them one over the other in a quadrangular shape, and lashing them strongly together. The bear is driven into the cage, which is then roofed over; and after a couple of years of confinement, during which it is fattened, poor Bruin is killed for a bear festival. In the lower part of the cage there is a small wooden tray by which food is served to the captive.

[412]

THE APE-KILAI, OR EARTH-RAKE, AS USED BY PIRATORI AINU.

On the north-east coast of Yezo I have also seen smaller cages, in which foxes, eagles, or other animals are kept; and I always noticed the care which Ainu took to

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

feed up the imprisoned animals. That "charity begins at home" is true even among the hairy people; for if they are kind to animals it is only for the sake of making a good meal of them on the first occasion that presents itself.

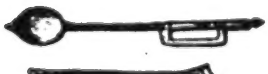
PESTLE.

It may be as well to state that the Ainu have never been known to make pottery. What they have of the kind is imported and sold to or exchanged with them by the Japanese. If I were an Irishman I should say that real Ainu pottery is made of wood. Nevertheless, large shells are often used by them as drinking vessels where wooden bowls are not obtainable. It is a common occurrence in Ainu households that one bowl is used by several individuals, and a more common occurrence still that none of the bowls are ever washed or cleaned after having been used.

MORTAR.

The small Ainu porch which stands frequently at the entrance of Ainu huts answers the purpose of a stackhouse, and in it is stored the firewood used in the house. The wooden mortar and the long pestle are kept in a corner under the porch. In the more civilised parts of Yezo these pestles and mortars are general, as the natives use them for pounding millet.

BONE SPOON.



WOODEN SPOONS AS USED BY THE MORE CIVILISED AINU.

PESTLE AND MORTAR USED FOR POUNDING SALMON.

The pure Ainu live principally on animal food—fish and meat—sea-weed, and some kinds of roots and herbs, which

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

throne complains of the drain on the treasury caused by constant fighting with the Ainu. The neighbourhood of Akita was laid waste by them; they 'gathered together like ants, but dispersed like birds'. The Ainu inflicted heavy casualties on the Japanese in 789. Two years later a stronger and better organized force was successful in driving the enemy northwards. In 811 a commander was praised for 'destroying the lairs of the barbarians and exterminating the tribe'. Ainu chieftains were put to death, other prisoners were banished to the extreme south.

From these records the question of Ainu chieftainship arises, and the capacity of a non-agricultural people to combine in such force. Sansom suggests that pioneer Japanese settlers in the north of Honshu may have combined with the Ainu and organized their resistance.

Since the translation of the *Ainu Seisaku Shi* into English by Mr. John A. Harrison and its publication,[1] information concerning the earliest contacts with the Ainu in Hokkaido have been available to western readers. Professor Takakura's motive in spending many years in research on the subject of Japanese and Ainu contacts, and Japanese colonial policy, was similar to that of Munro. Both men were distressed by the miserable condition of the Ainu, cut off from their traditional means of livelihood. Professor Takakura was insensed that, during his youth, 'nothing was being done to improve the lot of the Ainu'.

He records that in 1514, when the founder of the Matsumae family settled in Hokkaido, the Japanese settlements were already fortified against attack from the Ainu.

The Ezo of Ou (the Ainu of Honshu), who had been powerful in the ninth century, had been almost exterminated, and their remnants were completely assimilated by the end of the eighteenth century. Some contact with the Ainu of Hokkaido had been established by the Japanese at the end of the eighth century, but it was not until the sixteenth century that numbers of Japanese immigrants settled in South Hokkaido. Hokkaido then became a Japanese trading colony. When the Matsumae clan was granted a decree of enfeofment in 1604 the Ainu were living by hunting and fishing; they bred dogs, both for hunting and haulage; they used stone and

[1] Takakura, Shinichiro, *The Ainu of Northern Japan, a Study in Conquest and Acculturation*, translated and annotated by John A. Harrison, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, April 1960.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

a fireplace at the centre of the room. The occupants, i.e. the household, usually consisted of the simple family, the composition varying to some extent as shown in Table 1.

So far as was verified in the upper Tokapchi and Otopuke, the habitation of each household consisted of a dwelling house, *chise;* associated structures such as a store house for tools and crafts, *iochise;* a small outdoor cage for the bear cub, *hepere se*, an outdoor altar, *nusa san;* open-air drying frames for meat and fish, *kam kuma* and *chep kuma;* and other associated sites such as one for drawing water, *wakkata ushi;* a skinning spot, *iri an ushi;* a site for the preparation of fish, *chep karu ushi*, a bone dump, *pone kuta ushi* and a fur dump, *rushi nomi ushi* (p. 10). These sites were all sacred and *inau* offering-sticks were set in them. These buildings, structures and sites were arranged in a systematic way within an area of ca. 30-50 m. by 50-100 m (Note 61). The fundamental pattern of arrangement was based mainly on Ainu cosmological principles. Houses were built so that the sacred window, *rorun puyaru*, which had important significance for the Ainu, faced upstream (Fig. 1; Notes 59-60). The significance will be explained later in Chapter VI.

Table 2. Territorial Groups at ca. 1880-85.

Upper Tokapchi Valley.

			Settlement Group	Number of Houses
Part of R.G.	S.I.G.	L.G.	Kuttarashi	6
			Pennai	2
		L.G.	Nitmap	7
		L.G.	Pipaushi	6
		L.G.	Kumaushi	8
		L.G.	Sanenkoro	4
		L.G.	Moseushi	6
			Nyashikeshi	3
			Fulka	1
			Sarunnai	1
		L.G.	Penke-Pipaushi	?2 or 3

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

hup, Abies sachalinensis[10]. In the second phase the scene of hunting shifted accordingly from the fields up to the hills. Huntings on the fields were usually done by hunters out from their homes in the settlement for the day, whereas for the hill hunting the hunters from most settlements migrated in parties to near the area where deer concentrated to pass the winter (Fig. 8 and Map 2). The hunters stayed at their huts in the valleys of streams down from the winter quarters, chasing their game with hounds and with hand bows and poisoned arrows. They usually returned home when the snow was too deep for them and their dogs to walk in. In either of Tokapchi and Otopuke, hunting activities during this second phase were performed only by part of the hunters, and in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi at least, by some younger, unmarried hunters. In short, those activities were more or less supplementary to field hunting. They seem to have fluctuated in proportion to the scarcity of meat in actual store.

Spring hunting.—In spring the surface of the snow on the hills thawed by day and hardened again by night. Then deer hunting was resumed by hunters back at their huts near the winter quarters (p. 54). For some time early in the season, they used their hounds to drive the animals from their quarters down into glens still filled with snow and then shot them with hand bows as they fled struggling in the hardened snow. They also hunted the game lured by fresh leaves or small twigs of trees fallen on the ground, with spring bows set around them. As the snow began to disappear and the plants pushed forth their buds, deer gradually came down in herds to the lower plain in search of food. From the winter quarters down to the fields deer passed by way of the ridges of hills. Their tracks, *yuk apiri*, were much more fixed between the winter quarter and the bottom of the ridge than on the open fields. They continued hunting by means of spring bows set along the migration tracks as well as by hand bows till the base snow disappeared from the fields and the downward migration was completed. Each hunting party constituting a hut group (pp. 43-46) practised the spring bow hunting in their own hunting territory, that is, the dale valley in which their hut was located (p. 31).

Besides the methods mentioned above, the Ainu hunted deer down with dogs, caught them by the horn or neck with ropes and killed them with clubs as they fled struggling in the snow or crossed the rivers[11]. This method was widely practised among the Ainu; however, it seems to have been only supplementary to the others. It was also the only method of deer hunting by women and children.

Bear Hunting.

The Hokkaido species of bear belongs to Ursus arctos, a kind of brown

1, [Errata: the word "scence" should read "scene". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

bear[35]. It grows to a large size and is of ferocious nature. The Ainu hunted for it and killed it in a positive way with spring bows and arrows tipped with poison prepared from the wolf's bane, Aconitum, and even with hand bows. The Ainu were most probably the only known people to use bows and arrows as chief implements for hunting the brown bear (WATANABE, 1953). Moreover, it seems that no people in the neighbouring areas ever hunted the bear with such degree of active, organized effort as the Ainu. The Ainu habits of capturing and rearing young cubs and of their ritual killing were quite remarkable (p. 75), as was their well developed method of bear hunting. Furs of the animal were the most important item of barter with the Japanese. Seen from the food economy of the Ainu the bear was not so important as deer or salmon. Throughout the areas investigated by the present writer, rather few Ainu hunters could bring down or capture as many as eight bears, including cubs, in a year.

The bear has a hibernating habit. In early spring in Hokkaido the bear gradually came out of its den and, tracing chiefly the ridge where the snow melts earlier, came down to the lower hills and the level plain where food could be found early. In autumn the bear went about in search of nuts and berries growing in plenty by the mountain streams. It grows very fat during the autumn. When snow came, the animal began to retreat upstream to the depth of the mountains, where it went again into hibernation in its den. Zoological data on those habits of the brown bear in Hokkaido have been given by HATTA (1911) and INUKAI (1933)[36].

In Hokkaido, hibernation dens of bears were found in comparative abundance in those rugged mountain districts where rivers have their sources[37]. The hibernation centres as known to the Ainu were distinct from the winter quarters of the deer even in the same river valley. These latter developed on the strip of lower hills mostly wooded with firs and lying on each side of a river valley (Notes 3, 4 and 33). The tracks for the seasonal and local migration of the animal, known by the Ainu as *noru* or *chikushiru*, were more concentrated, mingled and permanent on the ridges and in the small glens nearer to the hibernation centres. Farther away or downstream, they were more scattered and less stable. Moreover, the bear is non-gregarious; its tracks were narrower and less distinct than those of the deer which is gregarious.

With full knowledge of their game, the Ainu selected bear hunting grounds in those source areas of rivers where there were hibernation centres (Note 36, f) and in each ground a hut was built for hunters to pass each season. These hunting grounds lay farther from the settlements and more interior than the deer hunting grounds (Fig. 8 and Map 2). Though much fewer, bears could be found without the source areas; if found, they might be caught

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

by hunters in chase of deer. Such an act, however, must be distinguished from the regular and organized bear-hunting under consideration. Bear hunting was practised in two separate seasons, spring and autumn. No regular bear hunting was practised in the time when their furs were summer ones (Note 36, a and b). In each season bear hunters formed a party and went to stay at the hut away from their homes. The spring hunting, *paikaru iramande*, began at about the time when the mountain snow became hard enough to walk in and bear cubs had been given birth in the dens (Note 36, c). Earlier in spring before hunting with spring-bow began, they carried out raids on the dens while still the inmates lay in hibernation. After building up a wooden palisade to blockade the entrance of the den, they stirred up the adult animal in the den to come out and shot it with hand bows and poisoned arrows. After killing the parent bear they captured the young cubs left, which they took home to bring them up. As the mountain snow began to melt, the hunters started hunting bears coming out of their dens by means of spring bows set on their tracks mainly on the ridges where the snow melts earlier. The season came to its end at about the time when most bears had left their dens (Note 36, a). So far as hunters from the upper Tokapchi are concerned, most of them returned home once after their raids on bears' dens, stayed there until about the time when bears began to come out of their dens and then went back again to the mountain huts to hunt with spring bows. The season of autumn bear-hunting, *chuk iramande*, covered a period between the time when bears began to retreat to their dens and the time when almost all the bears had finished retreating (Note 36, b). In this season spring bows were set on the tracks usually along the small glens where foods for the bear, such as nuts and berries, were plenty. They hunted the animal with hand bows as well and some hunters chased bears even to their dens. The date of the retreat is delicately influenced by the conditions of snow-falls of the season, so the hunters used to enter mountains at a much earlier date than expected.

Collecting of Plants.

Major items of plants collected by the Ainu were as the following. After each Ainu and scientific names its place of occurence and the parts used by the Ainu are given[39].

Food plants:

Ainu Names	Scientific Names	Habitat	Parts Used
1. Eba	Falcata japonica	Roadside and grassy meadows	Legumina under the ground
2. Muki	Codonopsis ussuriensis	Woods and grassy meadows	Roots

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

In spring when the snow had disappeared from the plains, the Ainu set to work collecting wild plants. Their work continued incessantly and with persistence till it was autumn when dog salmon began ascending the rivers. Of the species listed in the chart, Nos. 6, 9 and 19 were especially important as food for bear cubs kept in their homes. Most of the plants collected were dried and stored away in sufficient quantities to last the winter. During spring and summer all varieties with edible leaves, stalks, or roots which the Ainu needed were taken in. In summer *irep* roots were chiefly collected. Those groups that did no farming as in Otopuke gathered these roots with hardly a day's rest during the season. The roots were made into starch for storage. On the other hand, those groups that did some farming (p. 41) seem to have gathered roots with less frequency and in smaller quantity.

In autumn, fishing and hunting activities of the Ainu reached their climax in preparation for the approaching winter. But even at this season certain kinds of edible plants such as nuts, fruits and berries, were collected, though not in such quantities as would last any great length of time. A few varieties of nuts, for instance, acorn and walnut, were exceptions.

The greater part of plants for raw materials were also gathered during autumn, a task in which women again played a major role. In this manner, when base snow covered the ground, the Ainu had completed all their collecting activities. All these activities were arranged in season, so that they were adapted to the ecology of plant life. On the basis of vegtation[1] the Ainu classified the different parts of their land into the following types as forming their main collecting grounds.

Types of Land	Ainu Term	Plants Mainly Collected
Woodland on river bank	*kenashi*	3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14
Woodless field on either river bank or river terrace	*nup*	1, 2
Oak wood on river terrace	*kemni tai*	1, 2, 3, 8, 13, 18
Woodland by the side of streamlets on river terrace	*nitat*	6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14

Numbers correspond to those associated with the plant names cited in the list.

The terrace on which the *kotan* stood and its adjoining river bank provided the collecting grounds for their food plants (Fig. 8). Here also were found flora for raw materials, fire-wood, and almost all other plants, excepting a few special items like Ulmus laciniata for clothing or Aconitum for arrow poison. The former species were usually found distributed in plenty and collected in the mountains in the upper reaches of a river (p. 66). Aconite

1, [Errata: the word "vegtation" should read "vegetation". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

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heart of the mountains, or *nupuri noshiki koru kamui*, *kamui* who owns the centre of the mountains, is believed to be the big bear that lives in a large house on the lofty mountain top at the riverhead[64]. In Tokapchi, the abode was believed to be on the summit of *Optateshke nupri*, Optateshke mountain, in Otopuke on the top of *Otopuke nupuri*, and in Azuma on that of Mt. Yubari.

c The headman is never known to move outside of its abode to be seen by the Ainu; but in spring, on its orders, its people put on the bear's form ready for their visits to the Ainu.

d When they go, they take with them bear meat to give to the Ainu for meals. When they set out of their land, the headman gives notice to the fire-spirit, *apehuchi kamui*, who resides in each Ainu house.

e The messenger of the fire-spirit is the bear hound, *riep kamui*, creeping *kamui*, or *iso itak kamui*, *kamui* who calls the bear-spirit, who conducts the Ainu to meet the visitor. The bear, then, is not hunted by the Ainu; it comes to visit them.

f When the ursine visitor arrives, it enters the hunter's house by the sacred window, *rorun puyaru*, presenting its host with the bearskin and the bear meat it brings. In return it receives all the due hospitality for an honoured guest. After accepting the treasured *inau*, shaved wooden stick, the visitor, again in human form, goes back to the riverhead to his headman[65].

g On its return home the spirit of the bear is received by the headman and its fellow people, who all share with it the gift brought back from the Ainu.

h If the bear has been treated with due attention, the headman will be pleased to send more of its people to visit the same host again next year.

Group Activities as Their Ritual Reaction to the Brown Bear.

Mention has already been made in Chapters III and IV that in Hokkaido the hibernation centres of bears as recognized by the Ainu lay chiefly distributed in the mountains at the source areas of the rivers and that local groups more upstream and nearer to the hibernation centres showed greater enthusiasm in organized bear hunting than those farther away (pp. 37 and 47). It follows that more cubs were captured annually by those living more upstream and maintaining more bear hunters, while some of those groups more downstream and with less bear hunters seem to have found themselves occasionally short of cubs to bring up for ritual killing.

When cubs taken were brought in by each hunting party, they were either allotted for rearing among the member families, as in the case of Tokapchi, Kushiro, Saru and Azuma areas, or taken on in one lot by the leader's family, all the others contributing necessary feed, as was the case in

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of male siblings, the headman was followed by others in the order of seniority. 796
At Nukipet, it is informed, the order was in the nearness of kin to the head- 621
man. The ritual killing at each keeper's house in a local group, whether it had one cub or two, was finished in a day, and it went round among all the keepers' houses in the group, one each day or every two days, until all finished. Generally a couple of days were left between the last day in one local group and the first in the next. Thus, for instance, the entire period required by the whole *shine itokpa* group, beginning with Nitmap and ending up with Penkepipaushi, extended well over a month.

The ritual in each keeper's house was also participated in by the head- 796
men and others; however, the leading part was played by the keeper. In 614
the ritual he offered to his bear-cub the *inau*-sticks marked with his own ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa* (cf. Note 66). But, in Tokapchi and Otopuke at least, if he was a man of a different *ekashi ikiru* semi-adopted through marriage as a member of the core *ekashi ikiru* of the local group, he had to offer the *inau* bearing his wife's father's ancestor mark, *matchama itopka*. The details have already been given on p. 14 in relation to the kinship organization of the local group and the actual case is shown at the end of Note 15. Attendants of the ritual seem to have been mostly or almost exclusively members of the *shine itokpa* group. Persons married out of the member local group of the *shine itokpa* group, mostly women, were expected to attend if possible. As a matter of fact, they found themselves too busy with similar activities in their own groups. A very few who could attend came accompanied by their husbands. Attendants at rituals in other settlements or local groups were mostly adults. At the bear festival season people often stayed away from home for more than ten days attending one ceremony after another in the member settlements of their *shine itokpa* group. Some of the seniors, it seems, were away even for a whole month.

Bear cubs were captured almost regularly each year by the interior set- 231
tlements of the upper Otopuke local group, such as Naitai, Meto, Rucha and 796
Wop, while with the lower settlements there were years when no cubs were taken. This seems especially to have been the case with the coastal settlements, *pishun kotan* (p. 47). Of the local groups on the upper Tokapchi, it is informed, three families at Nitmap, i.e. the Shurunke's, the Zarashi's and the Osareainu's, three at Moseushi, i.e. the Ritenkouk's, the Ranketuk's, and the Rarauk's, two at Kumaushi, three or four at Kuttarashi and two or three at Sanenkoro, almost always kept two cubs each; there were other houses which kept one. In case a headman failed to secure any cub for his rearing, [622]
as informed to have happened occasionally among some local groups, he was entrusted with one, if any, captured by some other member in his group. As for groups with no cubs of their own, the members, instead of having their

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231 Otopuke.

Rearing of a cub usually took nearly a year, from March or April till January or February next year, or in some cases two years, at the end of which period the animal was killed with ritual. A large quantity of feed was necessary which was practically the same kind as food for the Ainu themselves. Indeed, the amount consumed by an average cub in one day from the first autumn on, is said to have been equal to that for several grown-up Ainus. Surplus stores of salmon and wild nuts gathered in autumn went to this purpose, as well as wild vegetables collected during spring and summer.

796 614 The ritual killing of the cub, *kamui iomante*, sending off the bear-spirit, took place in January or at latest in February, before the spring bear hunting set in once again[46]. The ritual was observed as a collective enterprise of the whole *shine itokpa* group. This group represents the patrilineal grouping of the male members who formed the core sections of the neighbouring local groups in the same river valley (p. 15). As far as the present writer has examined, the ritual killing of the cub was the only peacetime collective activity participated in with regularity by the *shine itokpa* group as a whole. The observance of the so-called bear ceremony has been widely but very vaguely known as the greatest of Ainu peacetime collective actions, but little has been made known about its social aspect[47].

[628] Prior to the ceremony the headmen of the member local groups of the *shine itokpa* group held a meeting, *ukosanio*, at the house of one who by custom came first in order among them, to fix dates for the ceremonies at their respectve[1] settlement. The ceremonies came in a customary order. To take an example from one of the *shine itokpa* groups in Tokapchi, it was customary for the local groups forming the member sections to observe their cub-killing rites in the order of Nitmap, Kuttarashi, Moseushi, Sanenkoro, Kumaushi, Pipaushi and Penkepipaushi. In the *shine itokpa* group in Otopuke, 796 which consisted of two local groups, the upper local group came first. In the 621 local group on turn, each of the cubs kept by the headman and other families was killed with due rituals at the hands of its keeper, *hepere koru kuru*, and his family. Whether they were killed individually at the keeper's house, as was the case at Tokapchi and Otopuke, or collectively at the headman's where they were all brought together, as at Nukapira and Saru, the rituals were performed in a fixed order of households in each local group. First came the headman's. He had exercised a custodianship over all the cubs kept within the group. It was not until the initial killing had been performed by the headman on his own cub that other cubs in the same group were killed ritually by other keepers. The rule of the order for the latter is not known; however, in the local group at Nitmap the core of which consisted

1. [Errata: the word "respectve" should read "respective" --Analyst]

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own ceremonies, only took part in those of the other sections of the *shine itokpa* group[69].

Territoriality and the System of Social Solidarity between the Ainu and Habitat.

The Ainu used to believe that the *kamui*-spirits which lived in the *iworu* of the neighbouring river looked after them. The inhabitants of a river, i.e. the river group, claimed exclusive rights to exploit the resources in the river basin which consisted of land- and river-*iworu*. Outsiders were allowed no access to those resources except by permission. The permission was obtainable from the headman of any local group in the river valley by going through a certain ritual procedure for the local *kamui*-spirits. Their claim to resources on land was activated not only by their economic interest but also by their cosmological system as such.

If some one wanted to fish at the spawning grounds owned by another local group, he had to ask for permission of the headman of that group. Under the direction of the headman, the applicant observed a proper ritual for the fire-spirit and the river-owning spirit and offered *inau*-sticks made by him to the spawning ground where he wanted to fish. After fishing, he would give part of his catches to the headman and the people who lived near the spawning ground and customarily fished there. The proportion of the amonunt of the 'gift to the fire-spirit' to his catches seems not to have been prescribed. Among the member local groups of the same river group, permission was usually given without fail.

Fishing in areas of a river outside of those named spawning grounds and private sites was freely done as occasion demanded by the people of the same river, that is, by the members of the river group. There was, however, a custom that in order to prevent any fishing by outsiders without permission, every fisherman gave information of his coming to the people of the nearby settlement. Sometimes he might inform on his way home. Also in this case, part of his catches was usually given to them as a gift to the fire-spirit.

In the case of gathering, either fishing, hunting or collecting, in the territory of a different river group, one had to get permission from any one of the headmen in the river valley, regardless of the method of one's fishing or hunting. Such permission was given on the performance of a ritual for local *kamui*-spirits concerned, but not always, because assurance was required that the fisherman or hunter be faithful to the local *kamui*-spirits. The discoverer of any tresspasser must bring him to his headman or some headman available at hand in the river valley, to make him apologize as soon as possible to the local *kamui*-spirits of the river concerned[69]. Also the discovery of such evidence of tresspass as salmon bones thrown in the mountains of the river was

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family and he had been in Japanese service since an early age, which circumstance had made his knowledge of the bear rite insufficient for a chief priest. The duty on this occasion had accordingly been commissioned to Kawasaki who had caught the cub, but something or other prevented him from taking up the duty, which finally went to old Teshi of Kutcharo. Of all the eight *inau* offered to the bear-spirit the most important were the two fixed to the forked ends of the pole set up at the outdoor altar and supporting the bear's skull. These carried Ōno's ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, which also marked other two of the remaining six set up on both outer sides. Of the rest two had the *itokpa* of Kawasaki and one that of Tosa. The person who offered the remaining one is not mentioned. NATORI did not give any information about the kinship relation between those persons who offered the *inau* and that between their *kotan*; however, it is interesting to see that the ancestor marks of all those persons share a common design element but differ from each other in the total pattern (ibid., p. 131, Fig. 39).

NATORI states that though presided over by a chief priest, the Ainu bear ceremony was no family affair but a joint observance of the whole local membership. In the days when the headman was the indisputed centre of authority, every bear cub taken was brought to him and every bear killed on a hunt received due rites in his presence (ibid., p. 131).

(68) INUKAI and NATORI is the only writers who have supplied information on the frequency of the bear festival. He points out that in spite of many writers describing the ceremony as if it were a sort of calendar custom in the Ainu *kotan*, there can be no bear ceremony in a *kotan* in the year when no cub is taken; that since different households in the same *kotan* may capture cubs in different years, it is natural that different families perform the festival in different years; that in some years one family may ritually kill two or three cubs at a time (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 255). These points have been confirmed in his surveys by the present writer. Usually, a cub caught in the spring was killed at the ceremony early in the following year. Sometimes one was kept for two or three years before it was killed. The development of the bear-rearing custom among the Ainu as described above naturally had for its requisite more or less surplus production of food stuffs. The stability of the settlement should be counted among other factors.

(69) In the *kamuinomi*-ritual he[1] was required to offer *ashimpe* to the *kamui* concerned. The *ashimpe* in this case might include, besides *inau*-sticks, some items regarded by the Ainu as the best of their treasures, *ikoro*, such as *tuki* and *shintoko*, lacquer wares imported from Japan. Such *ikoro* were offered to local *kamui* concerned also, in case of getting permission in advance of

1. [i.e., a person who was apprenhended while trespassing in the territory of another river group--Analyst]